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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART V

"SAITO Vs ARAKI"

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(10 Apr - 3 Aug 1933)
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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART FIVE: SAITO v. ARAKI

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Chapter 78
(10 April 1933)

Saito Carries On

Translated by Miss Chito Ischnaga

After my return to Tokyo I met the Premier at his official residence and he said: "I met with Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and told him: 'At present, the Prince would like us to continue on and endeavour all the more. Therefore I (Premier) would like you to quit saying you are going to resign and to go on as Finance Minister.' To the foregoing, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI answered: 'I shall continue as Finance Minister without mentioning resignation for a while.' With these words, I (Premier) parted with him (TAKAHASHI). In regard to Minister of Justice KOYAMA's affair, it is my (Premier) intention to carry out matters as I have outlined them to the Prince." Thereupon, the Premier seemed to be very well satisfied.

Later, I went to call on the Finance Minister and he stated: "The Premier has been telling me repeatedly to 'Carry on without making any complaints at present, therefore I have given up the idea of sending in my resignation until May. Somehow, I have no idea of the intentions of the Premier. He is a man who does not express his opinions, thereby making matters very perplexing."

Thereupon I (HARADA) asked Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, if it were not wiser for both the Premier and himself to speak up on various matters. Also that it would be desirable for the Finance Minister to discuss his views unreservedly with the Premier. Moreover, I warned the Finance Minister that it might be a good

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idea to question the Premier saying: "In your estimation, how far are we going to carry out matters? It is very discouraging to hear you (Finance Minister) say that you do not know the views of the Premier. therefore I think it is an excellent idea for you two to discuss matters mutually."

To the foregoing, the Finance Minister said repeatedly: "I shall endeavour to have three or four or five long talks with the Premier."

according to what the Finance Minister tells me (HARADA): "The papers mention something about KURODA becoming or not becoming the next Finance Minister. This must be due to the fact that at the closing session of the Diet a few days ago, President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai came over to me in private saying: 'Who would be suitable for Finance Minister? What about KURODA, the present Vice-Minister?' Therefore, although I (Finance Minister) personally felt that MITSUCHI would be a better successor were I to resign, when questioned about KURODA, I answered: 'Well, he might do.' That was all I said, therefore the newspapers must have gotten their material from the Seiyukai."

"When the papers reported later that Railway Minister MITSUCHI and the Prime Minister had met, INUKAI rushed over to my place and said indignantly: "Isn't MITSUCHI surreptitiously going to succeed TAKAHASHI as Finance Minister? Things look very suspicious. MITSUCHI is untrustworthy."

Later, when I inquired about the details, it seemed that those close to President SUZUKI had in general, a very bad impression of Railway Minister MITSUCHI. They

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believed that the Railway Minister was inclined even to quit the Seiyukai in order to remain in the Cabinet, and that he had his eyes on the vacancy to be left by Finance Minister TAKAHASHI should he choose to resign.

Later, I met Railway Minister MITSUCHI and I found out that he had given the Premier directly the opposite advice from what has been mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. That is, he (MITSUCHI) had stated: "Should TAKAHASHI resign, I (MITSUCHI) cannot even remain behind. If TAKAHASHI resigns, the Cabinet should resign en bloc and the succeeding Cabinet should be formed by the Seiyukai."

To tell the truth, Railway Minister MITSUCHI is beneficial to the TOKONAMI faction. MITSUCHI's ideas coincide with TOKONAMI's and this is not to SUZUKI's advantage; should the succeeding Cabinet be formed by the Seiyukai, SUZUKI's Cabinet would be short-lived. It is assumed that TOKONAMI is next in line but he appears not to be a person with deep Party-faction spirit.

Two or three days passed and suddenly a Jiji Shimpo extra appeared with the headlines reading: "Minister of Justice KOYAMA hands in resignation." The act was already completed when the extra came out. In short, the Premier, upon receipt of KOYAMA, Minister of Justice's resignation, presented to His Majesty, together with his (KOYAMA's) letter of resignation, a written report of his (Premier's) open and straightforward personal opinion on the matter and received the Emperor's sanction.

The Premier's opinion was to the effect that in the

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prevailing situation there was no point in having the Premier assume the responsibility whenever a subordinate member of his staff is involved in, above all things, communistic activities. That instead of taking the responsibility and resigning, the Premier should set in motion research on counter-measures and endeavor to wipe the offending measure out of existence. The Premier was of the opinion that to vainly resign from one's position and to assume responsibility for another person's action was a very bad custom. Moreover, it was his request that the letter of resignation be rejected on this occasion, and His Majesty, the Emperor appreciated the views of the Premier, but the matter was already settled and it was after the Minister of Justice had returned from expressing his heartfelt gratitude at the Palace that the newspaper extra came out. As a result, the Premier was flooded with criticisms from all directions; especially the Kokumin Domei and other organizations of a Rightist nature and other sources cried: "Seeking protection under the aegis of the Emperor"; "What did he do with the gracious words of the Emperor?"; and "The case is similar to that of former Home Minister YANO." The evening papers of that day and that of the following morning criticized the Premier by relating all sorts of things.

Nevertheless, the governing body of the military avoided entering into the uproar saying stoutly: "It is unwise to have a political change at this time." Even the Chief Secretary of the Privy Council came out with an unusual remark to the effect: "There is no problem from the standpoint of jurisprudence" and did not

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evade the question. This was due to the fact that: "he calculated that the longer the KIRANUMA faction continued to hold the political reins, in the end, when the Cabinet did collapse, the succeeding Cabinet would be formed not by the Seiyukai but by themselves."

On the 8th I left for Okitsu and made a general report and after meeting at the Omoto Kan with KONOYE, who arrived in Shizuoka on the "Fuji" on the 8th, I returned to Tokyo.

KONOYE went to Okitsu with the intention of meeting the Prince on the morning of the tenth.

Thereupon, the Prince remarked as I made ready to take my leave: "If newspaper reporters probe into you, tell them that 'Prince SAIONJI was confident of the fact that SAITO will continue the status quo.' In other words, there is nothing that can be done at this stage, was the opinion of the Prince.

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Chapter 79
(16 April 1933)

Suzuki Plots For Power

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

Before I left for Okitsu, INUKAI, Ken came over and said: "At the meeting of the Cabinet on the seventh, TAKAHASHI, without any reservation, spoke of the conversation that took place between him and Premier SUZUKI. The general opinion was that if the talks between TAKAHASHI and SUZUKI had advanced to such a stage, as NAKASHIMA, Minister of Commerce and Industry in particular remarked, 'It would be preferable to resign immediately.' Then, KOYAMA, Minister of Justice, spoke up, saying: 'If I had been aware of the fact that the resignation of all was going to take place so soon, it would not have been necessary for me to hand in my resignation before the others.' TAKAHASHI also said: 'It is necessary to prepare for resignation if we truly intend to carry out our intentions.' Next, the opinions of the ministers representing MATOYAMA and MITSUCHI's Seiyukai regarding the matter of resignation, were discussed. 'Probably nothing can be done until we resign', was the attitude, and the general opinion was resignation without delay.

Thereupon, I immediately phoned KONOYE from the Shinbashi Station and requested him to check the above matter and deliver adequate, reliable information to Prince SAIONJI's home. At the same time I met HORIKIRI, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, and inquired what took place at the Cabinet meeting of the seventh. His story was quite different from INUKAI's. Therefore, it cannot be definitely said that plans for the resignation of the Cabinet was settled. In fact, the element determined to

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encourage TAKAHASHI to continue was stronger. Nevertheless, the meeting was adjourned without the matter being definitely settled, therefore, although HATOYAMA and MITSUCHI were opposed to the present discussion on resignation, the others did not oppose nor approve. Since this conversation was primarily between the Premier and TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance, it was dropped eventually.

Upon this, KONOYE later said: "I shall see ICHINOMIYA, Fusajiro before leaving for Okitsu." It seems that what ICHINOMIYA had to say was a direct message from YAMAMOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, and according to it the reason why the matter was brought up at the Cabinet meeting was the fact that TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance, told Premier SAITO and YAMAMOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, that rather than resign he desired someone to dissuade him. Therefore, the Premier introduced the subject at the Cabinet meeting in order to have TAKAHASHI reconsider his resignation. The foregoing fact is being kept a secret. At all events, upon getting at the truth of the matter, it seems that the Premier opened the conversation by stating: "Finance Minister TAKAHASHI says that he would like to resign but I am dissuading him..." to which the inclination of all was, "by all means we would like to have you make him reconsider." Minister of Finance TAKAHASHI then said: "If we are going to remain in office, it is necessary to set up the budget. In order to do this, we shall have to risk dissolution of the Diet. Will we be able to stick to our guns even at the risk of dissolution?" Minister of Home Affairs YAMAMOTO, who did not know what

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the details were, answered: "Well, you do not have to carry matters so far." Then the Finance Minister inquired: "Why is HATOGAMA, Minister of Education, who always makes comments, not making any remarks?" To this the Education Minister HATOGAMA and Railway Minister MITSUCHI responded: "We are here as representatives of the Seiyukai, therefore it will be a considerable problem should there be a dissolution of the Diet. Needless to say, we cannot very well approve of it." Then the Finance Minister unreservedly stated: "The truth is that I have spoken to President SUZUKI on various matters upon several occasions. Especially on the day of the closing ceremony of the Diet, he came over through the back entrance and we privately discussed various problems." To this, NAKASHIMA, Minister of Commerce and Industry went so far as to ask: "Is it not better to resign if the conversation has progressed to such an advanced stage?" But the other Ministers more or less opposed saying: "Let us continue without resigning." Therefore, at any rate, the question was not settled, the matter was left in the hands of the Premier and the Finance Minister, and the meeting was adjourned for the day. The foregoing seem to be the actual circumstances.

KONOYE went to Okitsu and explained the above in detail, and I also made various explanations, to which the Prince replied: "Anyway, no matter what happens, let SAITO carry on as long as he can."

The above was all I got from the Prince and with this message, I returned to Tokyo.

It seems that what took place at the Cabinet meeting respecting TAKAHASHI, leaked out into the ears of the

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anti-SUZUKI faction of the Seiyukai, for it began to denounce SUZUKI, saying: "Look at the disgraceful behavior of SUZUKI." On the other hand, the SUZUKI faction is interpreting and publicizing the details of the Cabinet meeting to their advantage, therefore, the internal situation of the SUZUKI faction has become very confused.

There was another Cabinet meeting on the 11th but no one mentioned the above problem. However, at the meeting, it was decided to have ISHII and FUKAI represent Japan in the Economic Conference.

As I was going to Okitsu again on the 13th, I met the Finance Minister on the 11th and he said: "To be frank with you, MITSUCHI came over a short time ago and repeatedly asked me to resign. He (MITSUCHI) went on to say: 'If you do not resign, President SUZUKI will lose his confidence in you. Therefore, I have been wondering for some time if the agreement between SUZUKI and me was instigated by MITSUCHI. And, should I (TAKAHASHI) resign, I calculated that they expected to carry the matter as far as to have the rest of the ministers belonging to the Seiyukai resign simultaneously, thus leading the Cabinet to a downfall. MITSUCHI confessed the foregoing to me later, therefore I reprimanded him saying: 'Up to now you fellows have carried out your official duties influenced by personal feelings. It is disgraceful behavior and this is the reason why the Party has been criticized. As for me, (TAKAHASHI) no matter what sort of agreement I have made with SUZUKI, if it is for the good of the public, I might continue in office without resigning.'"

Therefore, it appears that the reason why MITSUCHI

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came to encourage TAKAHASHI to resign was MITSUCHI's aspiration to have TAKAHASHI resign from the SUZUKI faction and to take his place as Minister of Finance in the so-called prolonged Cabinet.

Later, in a newspaper interview, TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance said: "There is no change in my mental attitude." In short, he has clearly announced that he will eventually resign. Probably as soon as the May 15th Incident is closed. But it still seems that he has the inclination to remain in office if his conversation between SUZUKI could be stricken off the records with ample reason. Therefore the Premier, with the attitude that nothing can be done at present, is not doing anything about the matter and has made a statement that he can't do anything but watch the turn of events quietly.

I left for Okitsu and reported on the 13th the general details of the situation, then returned home. On my way to Okitsu, a member of the Seiyukai stated that there were 151 TOKONAMI faction members; 117 SUZUKI faction members and about 30 neutrals, but when it came to the final analysis, there would be only about 20 to 30 members in the SUZUKI faction. He was exultantly saying that there was a tendency toward a split in the Party. He further stated that there was a secret movement to recommend President TOKUGAWA as Premier, and that he had already obtained the consent of both TOKUGAWA and the Minister of War, ARAKI. To me, the authenticity of the above is very doubtful.

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Chapter 80
(22 April 1933)

Corrupt Parties

Translated by Lt Shiro Omata

When I returned on the 14th, OKAZAKI, Kunisuke sent word saying he wanted to see me. I had luncheon with OKAZAKI on the 15th and heard of various matters from him. It seems that OKAZAKI had remonstrated with president SUZUKI of the Seiyukai and considerably irritated him. The following is the content of what he said to SUZUKI:

"It is a great error if you think that when the present Cabinet resigns, the Seiyukai will immediately take over the Cabinet. In certain respects, the present-day activities of political parties are worse than the high-handed actions of the military. For instance, there is evidence that as a result of having his graft uncovered (by a public procurator), and fearing that this may be exposed, a political party official murdered the public procurator (in charge of the case). There exists a complete official record of this. From a certain section of the public one can still hear the criticism: 'There is nothing more degraded than the political parties.' Have you ever seen this official record?" To this SUZUKI said, 'By all means, I must see it.'" After telling him, "At any rate, at the present moment, it is better for you to sit tight (than to pull wires to come into power)." He talked on various matters and returned home.

This is the Incident which OKAZAKI mentioned:

When SUZUKI, Kisaburo was the Justice Minister he

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was involved in a graft Incident with some members of the Seiyukai and was on the verge of being indicted. Just about this time, the public procurator (in charge of the case) was murdered; it was made to appear as if he died accidentally by falling off a train which was passing over a bridge at OI. And I (HARADA) believe that the name of this public procurator was ISHIDA.

When I met the Premier on the 18th before leaving for Okitsu, it seemed that he had made up his mind (on pending matters of importance) and asked me to relay the following messages (to Prince SAIONJI):

"It has been decided to send ISHII and FUKAI to the coming Washington Conference," and: "If the Prince is planning to go to Kyoto, I would like to see him before he leaves."

At any rate it can be surmised that no incident will occur until the May 15 Incident is settled.

There was at one time a great deal of disruptive commotion in the Seiyukai. However, the knowledge that it would be disadvantageous to the Party as a whole has prevented the Seiyukai from splitting, and disruptive activities have decreased. Except for some maneuvering by the KUHARA faction, the situation has returned to normal.

Although there is a rumor that the group close to Baron HIRANUMA is fairly active (for some ulterior motives), needless to say it actually is not powerful.

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Chapter 81
(27 April 1933)

Saito's Dilemma

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Omata

For a week since the 18th, the newspapers have carried the news: "TAKAHASHI stated that he will resign." and: "The Premier says he will reorganize the Cabinet."

The Premier had been questioned by reporters on his way to Hayama for a week-end of recuperation: "If one member of the Cabinet resigns, will the Cabinet resign en bloc, or will it fill that particular post and carry on?" The Premier, not adept in dealing with such questions replied: "Naturally, we will carry on by substitutions." And when asked: "Will you follow this policy even in the case of TAKAHASHI's resignation?" he answered: "We will reorganize and carry on by filling the vacated post."

Such statements had an immediate effect and were sensational news in the following day's newspapers.

Although I (HARADA) was questioned innumerable times on this subject by newspaper reporters, my answer invariably was: "There is no change in the situation." I completely ignored the news reporters.

It seems that everytime such rumors were heard, the Seiyukai realized the further necessity of stronger party unity. Therefore, under the pretext of dedicating his newly built tea-house, KUHLI, who had no love for President SUZUKI, Kisaburo, but had carried on political maneuvers against him, invited the President and Party leaders to his home to hold a conference for the purpose of reconciliation. The purpose was to spike the rumor that there is a sign of disruption within the Party.

Saito's Dilemma

On the 27th Ambassador Plenipotentiary MATSUOKA, Yosuke is returning from abroad. The delegates, ISHII, Kikujiro and FUKUJI, Eigo are leaving presently for the Economic Conference to be held at Washington D.C. With people departing and returning the political circle is humming with activities.

Recently, Prince SAIONJI is purposely avoiding people, saying he is rather tired. He even refused to see OKAZAKI, Kunisuke who came all the way from Tokyo to see him. When I called on him (SAIONJI) on the 25th, he said: "For the time being, refuse all visitors desiring to see me." (A note written on the manuscript's margin by SAIONJI states: "I was really fatigued.")

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Chapter 82
(4 May 1933)

Shrewd Takahashi

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Omata

During the course of conversation on the 25th of April, the Prince mentioned the visit made by Prince TOKUGAWA to Okitsu three or four days ago. The Prince said: "During the course of conversation, he (TOKUGAWA) made the following statement: 'It seems that the health of Prince KONOYE is not good. What is your opinion? Since Prince KONOYE is a very important individual, we must take great care in having him take any post. And due to this, I must remain as the President (of the House of Peers.)

The Prince (SAIONJI) continued: "From the conversation we had, it seems that TOKUGAWA has no intention of resigning. When you go back (to Tokyo) convey this to KONOYE." And he stated: "When the former Minister of the Imperial Household, IKKI, visited me, IKKI said: 'When I met Prince TOKUGAWA in Kyoto, it seemed that it was his desire to remain in his present post.'"

On the 27th, a telephone call came from His Highness HIGASHIKUNI saying: "Since it is a beautiful day, let's go out for a round of golf." In the early afternoon, I (HARADA) called on His Highness at his home and accompanied him. On our way to Asaka, His Highness said: "Let's invite Prince KONOYE." So KONOYE also accompanied His Highness. En route, His Highness said to KONOYE and me: "This is a confidential matter. The Vice-Chief of the General Staff came over to the house and said: 'Recently, it has become difficult to obtain Imperial sanction from the Emperor on matters submitted by the

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Army; whereas matters submitted by the Foreign Minister or the Premier are given special consideration. I would like to request your (HIGASHIKUNI) efforts to have the Emperor approve matters submitted by General Staff Headquarters.'

"I refused this without any hesitation by saying: 'Even if it is an order from the Vice-Chief of the General Staff, it is impossible for me to obey it. Isn't it true that if I, without holding any responsible position, approached the Emperor on this matter, I would place the persons with the responsibilities in an embarrassing position? Not only that, but this will cause official and military discipline to become lax. On matters submitted or advice given to the Emperor by the Premier or other Ministers, the Emperor has always passed judgment by considering the general situation. When submitting a matter for Imperial decision, it is outrageous to hope that the Emperor will give approval to all matters submitted by the Army. Concerning this, I can under no circumstance agree with you (on the method you want to employ), and furthermore, I cannot obey your orders.'

Upon this reply, the Vice-Chief of the General Staff became furious and stated 'It is unpardonable for you to mention the matter of responsibility. As long as you are serving the Emperor as a member of the Imperial family, there is no need for you to talk like an ordinary government official.' Since then, our relationship has been strained."

Judging from all the news available, it seems that the newly appointed Chief Aide-de-Camp, HONJO, who replaced KURI, is still inexperienced at his job. Consequently

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he conveys the statements made by the Emperor intact to the Army, or relays what was said by the Army just as he heard it to the Emperor. I (HRADA) believe that various problems occur, because he (HONJO) does not use his own judgment to dispose of the different matters as he sees fit as the former Chief Aide-de-Camp NRI used to do. Not only that, but since the relationship with Russia has become strained, one can hear a strong voice saying: "We must strike a blow at Russia," from an element of the Army.

The activities going on around the throne at present are designed to make the Emperor recognize and understand the existing situation. It seems that they (the Army) are dissatisfied with restrictions placed upon them in attaining this objective. I was with him (HIGASHIKUNI) until evening and returned home.

Since the Ambassador Plenipotentiary MITSUOKI arrived late on the evening of the 27th, I called on him with the calling card of the Prince (SAIONJI) at his private home located at Shiro Rokuban Cho. He spoke very enthusiastically of the meetings he had had with the new and the former Presidents (of the United States) and Castle. And he spoke of the errors committed by the diplomacy of KASUMIGASEKI (Foreign Minister of Japan). He repeatedly said: "To let the relationship with the United States get as tense as it is today is a great blunder of the Foreign Ministry." And afterward he said: "Please extend my best wishes to the Prince; I will call on him soon. I returned home.

On the 29th, KURUMOTO, a member of the House of Representatives, said: "It is urgent that I see you." I had him come over to the Tokyo Club and conversed with

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him for approximately an hour. The content of the conversation was as follows: "The newspapers are giving a great deal of publicity to the tea meetings of the President (President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai), the elders, and the leaders of the Party (Seiyukai) which are held at the Home of KUHLRI. That scheme was thought up by Speaker KIDA (Speaker of the House of Representatives). He sent SHIMIZU and KIYUCHI to see KUHLRI and had them tell him: 'There are rumors floating about, and members of the Party regard you as a rebel. Thus, outsiders believe that there is no unity within the Party. Therefore, I would like to have you invite the elders and the leaders of the party to your home for a conference.'

"KUHLRI called his henchmen, TSUGUMO, FUJII, and TAGO and said: 'Today, I was approached on this matter (the invitation of the elders and the leaders of the Party to his home). From my standpoint, this is very unpleasant. However, as a member of the Party, if I should refuse this proposal, I would be taking a hostile stand against the Party. Since it is impossible for me to refuse, let's extend the invitation.' Thus, after consultation, KUHLRI and his henchmen decided to accept the proposal. The argument now presented by the SUZUKI faction is that although SUZUKI is criticized for the various actions, he still can control the Party.

"On the other hand, HITOYAMA approached TOKONUMI, and he (TOKONUMI) is holding conferences with four or five leaders of the Party. The reason TOKONUMI is quiet is that he aspires to become the next President of the Seiyukai. If he behaves, it is possible for him to win that position. His secret desire is to outwit SUZUKI.

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If TAKAHASHI and the other members (HATOHAMA and MITSUCHI) of the Seiyukai serving in the Cabinet resign, the KUHARA faction believes that TOKONAMI, KUHARA, and MOCHIZUKI will join the Cabinet as their replacements. And as for the Minseito, the persons such as MACHIDA, TANAKA, or SHIKURAMOTO will probably replace the members of the Cabinet furnished by their party (Minseito)."

"To cope with this uncertain situation, three or four of the younger members of the House of Representatives Seiyukai suddenly departed for their respective electoral districts in order to raise funds saying: 'There is no need to bother with the so-called elders (the elders of the political Party) and the other leaders. There is nothing left for us to do but to move on forward on our own convictions.' One can see that there is trouble brewing within the party."

KURAMOTO continued: "I once gave advice to KUHARA. I told him: 'It is impossible for you to win the Presidency of the Party at present. The public is not placing as much confidence in you as you believe they do. The only way you can become President is by supporting TOKONAMI who commands respect and showing to the others your generosity. Then, you could succeed TOKONAMI as President by having that respect transferred to you.'"

KURAMOTO continued: "When I met KOIZUMI, Sakutaro, yesterday, he stated that he had a conversation that lasted for approximately three hours on the same day with OKAZAKI, Kunisuke. OKAZAKI told KOIZUMI: 'This time, in all likelihood, the Genro (Prince SHIOMIJI, the Elder Statesman) will decline to reply to the Imperial inquiry

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concerning the formation of the new Cabinet. He will probably reply after conferring with the former Premiers and other leaders. He will not make the decision himself. And as for the resignation of TAKAHASHI (from the Cabinet), he, depending on the methods and means employed, may remain in office. If this Cabinet should continue to exist, TAKAHASHI should compile the budget estimates. If at that time, the political reigns come to the Seiyukai, it will be fine. However, if they do not, we will still have to make the best of it.' MOIZUMI praised OKAZAKI saying: 'OKAZAKI is more understanding than I expected.'"

KURIMOTO continued: "In order to win the political reins, it is best that activities that seem to unify the Party be carried on. Although outward appearances and what is actually going on within the Party are entirely different, these meetings were forced upon them for the sake of publicity. There is to be a gathering of the neutral members of the party sponsored by SHIMADA tomorrow night at the Shinkiraku without the KUHARI and TOKONAMI factions. However, there are some who say that they would rather take in a movie than attend such a meeting." Above were the stories of KURIMOTO.

I (HARADA) also heard from other sources that in actuality there is a great deal of dissension within the Party.

On the evening of the 30th, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO called on me at approximately 9:30. He spoke to me in detail of the Cabinet meeting held on the 4th of April. The following statements were made by him: "The news appearing in the newspapers is false

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propaganda spread by the Minister of Education, HATOYAMA.

I have never even once supported his statements. The following is what actually took place at the meeting (Cabinet): At the beginning, the Premier spoke of the circumstances leading to the presentation of the resignation by the Minister of Justice (KOYAMA). When he (the Premier) was almost through, the Minister of Justice, who had an audience with the Emperor changed his mind about resigning. He returned and joined the Cabinet meeting.

"After this, the Premier asked the members of the Cabinet to take action to dissuade Minister TAKAHASHI (the Finance Minister) from resigning his post. Ministers YAMAMOTO (the Home Minister) and UCHIDA (the Foreign Minister) took the floor first and asked him (TAKAHASHI) to remain in the Cabinet. Foreign Minister UCHIDA discussed present day diplomatic affairs. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI also spoke of his relationship with President SUZUKI (the President of the Seiyukai) and said: 'I don't know how President SUZUKI interpreted it, but I did inform him that I would resign when the Diet adjourns.'

"The Minister of Justice (KOYAMA) emphasized the fact that Minister TAKAHASHI stands high in public estimation, especially in foreign diplomatic circles. Therefore, he is one of the "musts" as a Cabinet member in present-day Japan. The Minister of Overseas Affairs, NAGAI, also stated, 'There is an apprehension that if Finance Minister TAKAHASHI were to resign now, it might create a political disturbance, and would increase the uneasiness of the public at this critical period.'

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Therefore you (TAKAHASHI) must abandon the thought at the present time.' Following NAGAI, the Navy Minister (OSUMI) stated: 'As for my opinion concerning the resignation, it is the same as that of Minister of Overseas Affairs NAGAI and others.' I (Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO) also asked him to remain by saying that I was of the same opinion as the others and by stressing the overwhelming popularity he (TAKAHASHI) holds within and outside of Japan. War Minister ARAKI, who was on his way to the Imperial Palace, left, saying: 'My opinion is the same as that of the Premier.'

"Then Finance Minister TAKAHASHI stated: 'The conversation I had with SUZUKI is somewhat exaggerated. I told him that I intend to resign. However, I may remain if a grave situation demands it.' To this statement, Minister of Overseas Affairs NAGAI stated: 'Since to create a political upheaval is to produce a grave situation, why don't you give up the idea of resigning?' TAKAHASHI expressed his appreciation for everyone's advice to remain in the Cabinet. He discussed plans for dealing with future financial problems and said: 'Due to your earnest persuasion, if I should decide to remain, it means that I am prepared to dissolve the Diet if necessary.'

"At this point, the Premier made an attempt to bring the meeting to an end. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI turned to HITOYAMA and MITSUCHI, representatives of the Seiyukai and questioned them in such a manner that they were compelled to express their opinions. Minister of Railways MITSUCHI said: 'It is extremely difficult for me to say anything, when you ask for my opinion with the stipulation that you are willing to dissolve the Diet if necessary.'

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Two or three of the Cabinet members present said: 'The question, with a premise of dissolving the Diet if necessary, is carrying things a little too far.' Upon this remark, TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, promptly retracted his statement, saying: 'I retract my previous statement, (to dissolve the Diet).' Then MINAMI, Communications Minister, stated: 'Even though the Cabinet decides to resign, it is unwise to do so after a conference with SUZUKI (it gives the appearance that SUZUKI forced the issue).'

"TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, said to Minister of Education HITOYAMA: 'Let's have HITOYAMA's opinion.' HITOYAMA replied: 'I expected to remain silent, however, if you insist, here is my answer. I am well acquainted with the differences that exist between President SUZUKI and you. I believe it is only natural that you resign from your post.' To this, Minister TAKAHASHI said: 'On the 26th, the day of the closing ceremony (of the Diet), President SUZUKI came over and asked me: 'When are you going to resign?' I replied: 'It will be after the 20th (May 20).' Although I did make that statement at that time, I was persuaded by the Premier to remain, I told him (the Premier) that since it was likely that I would not resign until the May 15 incident was settled, I would remain (in the Cabinet) until the end of May.'

Minister of Education HITOYAMA asked TAKAHASHI: 'Do you intend to have another conference with President SUZUKI?' He (TAKAHASHI) replied: 'There is no need for me to meet him (SUZUKI). However, it is a different story, if SUZUKI wants to see me.'

"In bringing the meeting to a close, Chief Secretary

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HORIKIRI said: 'In what manner should I release the details of today's Cabinet meeting to the newspapers? I believe it is best that I tell the reporters that this subject (the resignation of TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister) wasn't brought up at the meeting.' The members of the Cabinet decided to leave this subject discussed at this meeting up to Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and the Premier, and the Cabinet adjourned."

After this lengthy statement, Minister GOTO (the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry) expressed his hopes concerning KONOYE's future, but took a cautious attitude concerning him. He left about midnight.

At noon of the same day (30th), I (HARADA) met OKAZAKI, Kunisuke, since he had said: "I would like to speak to you." When I saw him, he said: "Even if TAKAHASHI does resign from the Cabinet, there is no reason for HATOYAMA and MITSUCHI to leave the Cabinet with him. Should the Seiyukai withdraw two of its members from the Cabinet without any reason, it would seem as if they (HATOYAMA and MITSUCHI) resigned for the purpose of overthrowing the Cabinet. Consequently, the political reins would not come to the Party, and this would be a setback to the Seiyukai. I believe that the best solution at this time is to persuade TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, to remain in office. In order to prevent TAKAHASHI's resignation, I believe the Premier should take some definite action soon. Will you do your best to impress this upon him?" I (HARADA) said, "Now I have also heard your story, and I will report it to the Prince," and we parted.

I called the Prince on the 1st to discuss the

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conversations I had had with KURAMOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO, and OKAZAKI. Naturally, I saw the Premier before I left. When I saw him, he (the Premier) stated: "I would like to call on the Prince myself. However, the situation is still uncertain, and I would like to try quiet things down a little. At present I have nothing definite in my mind. I am certain that TAKAHASHI understands everything." When I conveyed this to the Prince, he stated: "Let's just sit tight. I am sure that Premier SHIBATA is capable of handling the situation." It seemed that the Prince was very calm. I also mentioned the conversation I had had with His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI. I left for Tokyo that afternoon.

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Chapter 83
(10 May 1933)

Huang Fu at Peiping

Translated by Lieut. Shro Omata

MITSUCHI, Railway Minister, had said some time ago:

"I would like to meet Prince SAIONJI in the near future. Please ask him whether he will permit me to see him or not; I'll be visiting Kyoto on May 2 and 3."

I conveyed this to the Prince. He replied:

"I want it postponed for a while." I transmitted this message by phone to the Railway Minister MITSUCHI staying at the Yoshitomi Inn, Kyoto.

On the 3rd, I had lunch with Admiral OKADA (former Navy Minister) at Kuwana (restaurant). He said:

"I believe that Minister TAKAHASHI (the Finance Minister) will probably remain in the Cabinet. He (TAKAHASHI) said he was going to issue a statement on remaining in the Cabinet. Since such a statement will create much commotion, don't you think it is better for him not to issue it?" He also spoke about restoring discipline within the Navy, etc.

He said:

"I haven't called on Prince SAIONJI since I resigned my post (Navy Minister). I must go to Okitsu sometime in the future, although I am not in a hurry about it. This doesn't mean that I have something especially to tell him...."

I met HORIKIRI, Chief Cabinet Secretary; he said:

"TAKAHASHI (Finance Minister) said: 'It is undesirable for my indecision to remain in office to create public commotion; therefore, should the Premier decide to settle

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down and carry on with the Cabinet, I'll issue a public statement clarifying my stand and remain in office."

Later, when I met KURAMOTO, House of Representatives member, he also mentioned the above story.

On the evening of the 3rd, Lieut. Colonel SUZUKI of the Army, whom I hadn't seen for some time, came over and discussed the attitude of the Army concerning the political situation. He said:

"The Army has issued instructions to all Army personnel strictly prohibiting political activities, such as maneuvering to 'reform the present day administrative setup,' or 'recommending so and so for Premier.'" Leading officials of the War Ministry and the General Staff Headquarters are desirous of having the present Cabinet definitely remain in office.

He (SUZUKI) continued:

"The Vice-Chief of the General Staff will be shifted at the end of this month or sometime next month. It is said that Lieut. General UEDA will be appointed to the post. This is confidential. In regard to HATA, Chief Commander of the Kempei. (Military Police), the field-grade officers, i.e. the colonels and lieut. colonels, in the War Ministry and the General Staff Headquarters believe that in the interest of the Army it is best to retire him from his post. They have expressed their opinion frequently to higher authorities. However, neither the War Minister nor the War Vice-Minister will agree to shift HATA from his post. This is deplorable."

About the Sino-Japanese problems:

When Lieut. Colonel SUZUKI went on a China inspection tour last year, he met and discussed the Sino-Japanese

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problems with HUANG Fu (former Foreign Minister, Chinese National Government). They considered that the following might be a possible solution to the Incident raging on the Manchukuo-North China border line:

"China will promptly withdraw her troops attacking the Japanese forces 10 or more miles from the Great Wall.

"HUANG Fu will suppress anti-Japanese movements within his North China sphere of influence and will endeavor to change the general national policies of China to: 'Subjugation of Communist Bandits' and 'Stabilization of National Life.'

"Japan will co-operate for the effectuation of the above objectives."

SUZUKI said:

"I told HUANG Fu:

"Let's discuss the Manchurian problem, after China has stabilized her domestic affairs and after the national sentiment towards Japan has calmed down."

"But, at that time (last year) neither the general national sentiment of China nor that of Japan was favorable to a settlement along the above lines.

"However (with a change of situation) recently HUANG Fu has begun to stir. He has been requested by CHIANG Kai-shek to accept the chairmanship of the Peiping-Tientsin District (i.e. the North China) Administrative setup. He probably will accept it.

"The recent improvement of relationships with China can be attributed to the co-operation given to the Army by the Foreign Ministry in negotiating with China. However, Japan necessarily must outwardly impress the Chinese with the fact that she is ever prepared to retaliate should Chinese troops start an offensive towards the

Huang Fu at Peiping

Great Wall. The Army has recently on several occasions released important statements to the press, stating that Japan would retaliate for the insolent actions of the Chinese troops. However, this doesn't necessarily mean that the Army will implement its statements; it's psychological propaganda to intimidate China."

On the evening of the 4th, Mr. KOIZUMI Sakutaro called on me. Since it was near dinner time, I invited him to the restaurant Nyakuseki in Ashi-machi and had a conversation with him. The main topic of the conversation was the Prince (SAIONJI). He was going to write an article on the Prince. He questioned me about the youthful days of Prince SAIONJI and other matters concerning him. However, I did not give him much information voluntarily.

Concerning the present political situation, KOIZUMI said that sometime ago he told President SUZUKI (of the Seiyukai):

"The country can be saved from the present critical situation only if the political parties will collaborate and form a coalition Cabinet for the purpose of saving the country. It might be said that the military will intrigue to counteract such a movement or attempt to assassinate leading members of such a movement; however, that should be an entirely different consideration (i.e., such anxieties should be discarded, if the country is to be saved). You should call on President WAKATSUKI of the Minseito and propose to him:

"Let's co-operate whole-heartedly to save the country from the present critical situation."

"I am sure he won't reject your proposal."

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KOIZUMI continued:

"President SUZUKI quibbled, saying: 'Such a venture can't be undertaken on account of the prevailing dissension within the Seiyukai Party.'

"So I told him. 'You lack sincerity; therefore you are equivocating. Should you be sincere, it can be accomplished.'

"I cited the example of HIDEYOSHI and TOKUGAWA (the 2 rival major feudal lords of about 350 years ago) who became reconciled after the battle of Komaki-yama to bring peace to the civil-war-weary country.

"Finally SUZUKI said: 'I'll give further consideration to the matter.'

"and we parted."

It seems KOIZUMI went so far as to say to President SUZUKI: "Should you reject this proposal of mine, I shall sever my friendship with you."

KOIZUMI continued:

"Later on, I met President WAKATSUKI of the Minseito and discussed the same matter with him. WAKATSUKI clearly expressed his personal stand on this matter; he said: 'I have already held the premiership twice. If the Seiyukai desires sincerely to collaborate (to save the country), I am willing to co-operate.' It seems that the matter is now entirely up to President SUZUKI. It seems that taking a decisive action for collaborating with Minseito is a very difficult thing for President SUZUKI. The general opinion is that collaboration cannot be readily realized under the present circumstances."

I talked with KOIZUMI until about 10 o'clock in the evening and returned home.

Huang Fu at Peiping

On the 6th of May I called on Prince SAIONJI and gave a complete report of the talks I had had with different people.

Prince SAIONJI inquired:

"What is the attitude of the Army and Navy concerning the May 15 Incident?"

He also said:

"SAGOYA (the assassin of Premier HAMAGUCHI) should be sentenced to death; otherwise the case will produce a very detrimental future influence. What do you think about this matter?"

Further, he said:

"It would be undesirable, should it be known that I had expressed such a strong opinion on this matter. Please keep it confidential."

On the evening of the 6th, I joined KONOYE at Hakone. I returned to Tokyo on the evening of the 7th.

On the 9th, KURAMOTO came over again and said:

"There is a rumor that Prince TOKUGAWA may become Premier. When FUJII, Tatsuya met Prince KONOYE sometime ago, KONOYE asked him: 'Isn't there such a movement (as to have Prince TOKUGAWA become Premier) within the Seiyukai?' When I heard this I was apprehensive that you might have been the person who informed Prince KONOYE about this; consequently, I rushed over today to inquire about it."

I answered:

"I never told him any such thing."

I telephoned KONOYE at Hakone and warned him about this matter. He said:

"I heard that from OGASAWARA."

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KONOYE further said:

"The talk within the Seiyukai about forming a coalition Cabinet is a reverberation of KOIZUMI's personal opinions."

At any rate it seems that a faction of the Seiyukai is going to issue a statement again clarifying its position on this matter.

May 15 is approaching; consequently, rumors are rampant that: "Finance Minister TAKAHASHI will by all means resign," and: "He won't resign."

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Chapter 84
(15 May 1933)

Matsui Speaks

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Omata

On the evening of the tenth, I was invited by Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTÔ to attend a party held at Kanetanaka with members of the House of Peers to celebrate the appointment of ODA to the post of Parliamentary Vice-Minister. Since I had a previous appointment with Lt. General MATSUI to depart on the 7:45 P.M. train to call on KONOYE, I left the party early. We (MATSUI and I) arrived at Miyanoshita after 10:00 P.M. Since it was late, we went to bed immediately.

Next morning at eight o'clock we (KONOYE, MATSUI and I) had our breakfast together. During breakfast, we listened to what Lt. General MATSUI had to say. However, before breakfast I went to KONOYE's room to discuss different subjects. At that time, he said: "A while back, when I met the President of the House of Peers, TOKUGAWA, I inquired: 'I understand there are some who want you as Premier. What do you intend to do?' The President of the House of Peers, TOKUGAWA replied: 'Since I have a certain plan, I am holding it off. However, in the end, I intend to refuse the position (the Premiership).'" After touching on various subjects, we proceeded to the dining room.

At the breakfast table, Lt. General MATSUI said: "If this situation continues without any alteration, the future prospect is discouraging. SAITO must take drastic action and reorganize the Cabinet. The Foreign Minister must be replaced. If it is possible, I believe

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that HIROTA is a suitable person for the post of the Foreign Minister. As for the Minister of War, he should shoulder the responsibility of the occurrence of the May 15th Incident and resign. As successor to the post of the Minister of War, HAYASHI is an ideal individual. I know it is out of order for me to criticize the Army. However, I believe that the promotion of General MUTO to the rank of the Field Marshal by the Army was outrageous. At the time when the May 15th Incident occurred, General MUTO was Inspector-General of Military Training, and the promotion was given when the Incident was not yet settled. From many points of view, I believe that he (MUTO) is not a man of accomplishment. It is true that he is a man of character and strict morals. However, the fact that he was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal indicates the so-called high-handedness of a certain element of the Army. I believe that there is considerable objection to this act within the Army."

I asked him (MATSUI): "Isn't it true that there is a movement to make Field Marshal MUTO Premier?" He replied: "That is absurd. I don't think he would accept it either."

Concerning the Chinese and the Russian problems, he (MATSUI) said: "Looking at it from the existing situation, it is very unfavorable to take such positive actions as to send an expeditionary force to the Peiping-Tientsin District or to attack Russia. First of all, we must fully understand and give our full support to Manchukuo, and we must take steps to reestablish friendly relationship with China. At any rate, there is at present no outstanding individual to assume charge of

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domestic political affairs. I believe that it is time for such persons as Prince KONOYE to take an active part in politics. Before becoming the Premier, you should take a post in the Cabinet when the SAITO Cabinet reorganizes."

He (MATSUI) asked me to take an active part in this campaign. However, I told him: "It is impossible for me to take any action. All I can do is to convey this entire conversation to the Prince by including it in the next report."

Since I was to attend the luncheon sponsored by Grand Master of Ceremonies HAYASHI for a reporter by the name of PRICE of the Daily Mail at the detached house of SUMITOMO, I hurriedly returned to Tokyo on the train that was scheduled to arrive at Tokyo a little past 12:30 P.M. Lt. General MATSUI remained with KONOYE, and they continued the conversation.

Army and Navy men, KODAMA of the Yokohama Specie Bank, KUSHIDA of Mitsubishi, YAMAMOTO, Shinjiro, SHIRATORI, and KISHI of the Foreign Ministry were present at the detached house of SUMITOMO. Japanese-style food was served to us. The luncheon gathering was adjourned at approximately 2:00 P.M. after various topics were discussed. PRICE of the Daily Mail was famous for the very favorable publicity he has given Japan. In meeting him, I found him to be a man of very fine character.

When Mr. PRICE had an audience with the Emperor, the Emperor stated: "In order to maintain world peace, continuous cooperation between Japan and Great Britain is essential." It is said that when he (PRICE) heard this statement, he was so elated that he immediately

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wired it to London. Since it was Mr. PRICE's desire to meet the Army and Navy Ministers, this meeting was arranged in HAYASHI's name (Inspector-General of Military Training) to make it possible for Mr. PRICE to meet them.

On the morning of the 13th, I left for Okitsu. Upon seeing the Prince, I expressed my gratitude for the various handsome gifts I had received for the remodelling of my home. Then I reported to him on the conversation we (Prince KONOYE, Lt. General MATSUI and I) had had at Hakone. And when the conversation touched on the subject of the meeting with Minister of Justice (KOYAMA), the Prince stated: "As I expected, he is a man of understanding."

On the previous day, when I met the Minister of Justice in Tokyo, he said in great amazement: "I always have thought that the Prince was a very old and average individual. However, when I met him, I discovered that he has a very clear mind, and his manner impressed me a great deal. He is quite different from the Prince I pictured." And he (Minister of Justice) continued: "We covered such subjects as the May 15th Incident and the activities of the left elements. During the course of conversation, the Prince questioned me at various intervals. Since it was improper to remain too long, I left after spending a little over an hour with him."

The other topics of conversation with the Prince were of little importance. However, it was his (the Prince's) opinion that the political parties as well as their members, who are hoping for a change in admi-

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nistration, are depending on the Army to bring this about.

It seems that we are faced with difficulties since there are so many who believe that this is the only way to accomplish the change. We ourselves can't help but feel that way also. I (HARADA) said: "When I saw the Premier (SAITO), and the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, it was their intention to sit tight and watch developments. The Premier said that before he had his final talk with Mr. TAKAHASHI, he will call on the Prince at Okitsu. As for the China Incident, although we are attacking the Chinese strong positions beyond the Great Wall, we have no intention whatsoever of advancing into the Peiping-Tientsin District." The Prince said: "At any event, let's watch developments."

I left the Prince and returned home in the afternoon.

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Chapter 85
(23 May 1933)

Shiratori Ousted

Translated by: Lieut. Shiro Omata

Upon returning on the 14th from Okitsu, I telephoned Vice-Minister ARITA in the evening, wondering what had become of the shifts, which I had heard were to take place in the personnel of the Foreign Ministry. He (ARITA) said: "I will discuss the matter with you tomorrow. However, as far as I am concerned, I am going to submit my resignation." No sooner had I hung up the receiver when he called and inquired: "Do you mind if I come over to talk to you now?" I replied: "Not at all. I will be expecting you."

Vice-Minister ARITA came over after 9:00 PM, and he made the following statement: "With the permission of the Minister (Foreign Minister UCHIDA), a plan had been made to change personnel, sending SHIRATORI, Chief of the Board of Information of the Foreign Ministry, abroad and TANI, Chief of the Bureau of Asiatic Affairs, to Manchukuo as a Councillor. This was all ready to be put into effect.

"On his way home from Germany, Ambassador KOBATA was requested by Ambassadors and Ministers to convey a message: "For various reasons it is hoped that the Chief of the Board of Information will be changed." Therefore, KOBATA was also consulted concerning this shift. Although Ambassador KOBATA was on the retired list, he remained with the Foreign Ministry as a person on the non-official staff for the purpose of giving advice to Vice-Minister ARITA and Foreign Minister UCHIDA.

Shiratori Ousted

In order to carry out the plan submitted by the Vice-Minister to shift personnel, Foreign Minister UCHIDA called in the Chief of the Board of Information and said:

'I want you to go abroad either as a Minister or as a Councillor.' The Chief of the Board of Information stated: "I will give it consideration, but what do you think about sending the Vice-Minister abroad also?"

"Once, quite some time ago, when Vice-Minister ARITA was approached on the same subject, he rejected it stating: 'If I should be sent out, you can expect almost anything.' Consequently, the Foreign Minister had to drop the matter.

The Foreign Minister called me in and said: 'Since SHIRATORI states that if I send you abroad he will go, I want you to go out as Ambassador to Great Britain or to any other country that you prefer. If you accept this proposition, the matter will be settled amicably.'

If the Foreign Minister is going to take the stand that in a quarrel both parties are to blame, knowing the relationship between the Chief of the Board of Information and myself, it is useless for me to give him my support.

"Although I was in an embarrassing position once before, I believed that I should exert my effort to settle the difficulties. However, after learning of the intentions of the Foreign Minister, it is impossible for me to assist him. Therefore, I thought it appropriate for me to submit the resignation before the decision (to send me abroad) was reached. Since it is extremely unfavorable for the Foreign Minister to assume direct responsibility when difficulties arise, I presented my resignation before action was taken to shift personnel,

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with the intention of shouldering the responsibility if anything should occur.

"The Foreign Minister handed the resignation back to me saying: 'I shall give this back to you for the time being.' Today, I presented my resignation to the Foreign Minister again. I expressed my determination to resign from the post saying: 'At any rate, I will remain until my successor is appointed. However, I am going to resign at the earliest possible time.' It is true that I am going to resign because of the Foreign Minister. However, outwardly I want to make it appear as though it is due to illness, and as if it is necessary for me to have a complete rest.

"Saying: 'I can't accept it, I rejected the Foreign Minister's offer of promotion to the rank of Ambassador. I intend to live a life of retirement."

On the other hand, when the resignation of the Vice-Minister became a reality, SHIRATORI, Chief of the Board of Information, felt that he had to resign also. As the result of conferences with SUZUKI of the Army, SHIRATORI, Chief of the Board of Information, said: 'I shall accept the post of Minister to a foreign country provided that the policy of the Foreign Ministry is not to be changed.' On the next day, he made his intention known to Foreign Minister UCHIDA. Foreign Minister UCHIDA was overjoyed at the action of SHIRATORI. He was especially pleased when SHIRATORI advised him: 'Please retain the Chief of the Asia Bureau since he is a very important figure in connection with Chinese problems.'"

Shiratori Ousted

When I (HARADA) went to the Foreign Ministry on the morning of the 15th, I received detailed information concerning the shift in personnel from Foreign Minister UCHIDA. Since SHIRATORI had decided to leave without causing any commotion, I thought it was ideal that the difficulty had been settled much more quickly than anticipated. When I went to have a talk with SHIRATORI in his room, he was very calm. It seemed that he understood the well-meant intention of Vice-Minister ARITA. There was no need for unnecessary anxiety concerning other matters. I thought it was very fortunate that the incident was settled without any mishap. As successor to the Vice-Minister, Minister SHIGEMITSU was to accept the appointment on the same day.

On the 18th, KIDO (the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) and I were scheduled to leave (Tokyo) to call on Prince SAIONJI. KIDO was to leave for Shizuoka ahead of me on the evening of the 18th, and I was to depart on a later train. Together, we were to call on the Prince on the morning of the 19th.

On the 18th, I received the general outline of the United States proposals from the Chief of the Bureau of European and American Affairs at the Foreign Ministry. The proposals were as follows:

1. Matters pertaining to disarmament.
2. Same as above (1).
3. Not to recognize the numerical strength of the Army beyond that of the agreed strength. This is to check Germany.

Shiratori Ousted

4. Not to send expeditionary forces beyond one's territory. However, the right of self-defense will be respected.

In regard to the right of self-defense, the Secretary of State, Mr. HULL, said to Ambassador DEBUCHI: "The treaty right to send expeditionary forces will be recognized." There was an indication that he would not interfere too much with the Manchurian problem.

In the morning of the 19th, KIDO and I called on the Prince. Reporting on the recent condition of the Emperor, KIDO stated: "It is said that about the time of the withdrawal from the League of Nations, the Emperor lost approximately one kan and two or three hundred me (approximately 10 lbs.). However, it seems that recently he is in good health, and he is making considerable progress on his way to recovery.

"Lately, the Chief of General Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations, Prince KAN-IN and Prince FUSHIMI, absolutely obey the orders of the Emperor. Not only that, but the Chief of Naval Operations has changed his attitude entirely and later goes as far as to assist the Emperor voluntarily in different matters.

"Looking at it from the conditions of present-day Japan, advocacy of war between the United States and Japan will never materialize."

"In regard to the offensive against Jehol, the Chief of Naval Operations supported the policy of the Emperor and was quite concerned over it. The Emperor dispatched the Grand Chamberlain to the Chief of Naval Operations with the following Imperial message: 'I have issued such and such orders to the Chief of General Staff,

Shiratori Ousted

so rest your mind at ease.' These actions have greatly improved the tense atmosphere existing, and persons close to the Throne are overjoyed with the situation."

I spoke to him about the Chinese problem and told him that some agreement may be reached with China. The reason is that there is a possibility that the fighting may become stalemated; conferences held between HUANG-Fu and Lt. Col. SUZUKI indicated that an agreement may be reached secretly. However, these developments were handled in such a manner that they were kept strictly confidential.

Cooperating with the Army, the authorities of the Foreign Ministry waited for an opportune moment to make their move.

The topic of conversation shifted to Prince TOKUGAWA. However it is the personal problem of Prince TOKUGAWA and is of no concern to Prince SAIONJI.

KIDO and I lunched at the Prince's and returned together as far as Kozu on the noon train. I left KIDO at Kozu and called on Prince KONOYE who was at Hotel Fujiya in Hakone. After discussing various matters with him, I returned to Tokyo late that evening.

On the 20th, the Premier (SAITO) was to call on the Prince (SAIONJI). After this conference, the meeting between the Premier and Finance Minister TAKAHASHI was to take place in Tokyo.

On the afternoon of the 22nd at two-thirty, the meeting of the Premier and Finance Minister TAKAHASHI took place at the official residence of the Finance Minister. The outcome of the meeting was that since the national emergency still exists and the resignation of the Finance Minister at this time might create a commotion

Shiratori Ousted

in political circles, the Finance Minister promptly acceded to the persuasion of the Premier and decided to remain in the Cabinet.

At four P.M. on the same day, I met the Premier at his official residence. The Premier stated: "Finance Minister TAKAHASHI will remain as expected. It is the ardent desire of TAKAHASHI to render his service to the country. Minister of Home Affairs YAMAMOTO told me (Premier SAITO) that: 'If TAKAHASHI had said 'I will resign', I (YAMAMOTO) intended to have a showdown with TAKAHASHI, if necessary, and to persuade him to remain.' Consequently, we have decided that 'We elders must fully support each other and render our last services to our country.'" Thus, the Premier indicated his firm determination.

The Premier continued: "Then I met the Prince day before yesterday, I received many arguments from him for the first time. It was indeed very gratifying to hear the opinion of the Prince. After observing the developments for two or three days, I (Premier SAITO) would like to have a talk with you before you depart for Okitsu." Due to this request, I postponed my visit to Okitsu two or three days. During the course of conversation, the Premier said: At the Cabinet meeting to be held on the 23rd, I intend to make an official announcement after reporting to the Cabinet on the progress of today's conference (between SAITO & TAKAHASHI). At the same time, I intend to issue some definite statement."

(Continued in the next chapter)

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Chapter 86
(27 May 1933)

Parties And National Unity

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Omata

On the evening of the 22nd, I (HARADA) had an audience with His Imperial Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI. The Prince stated: "The Vice-Chief of the General Staff, who has been in an extremely bad humor for the past few days, suddenly called on my secretary and angrily declared: 'His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI lacks the spirit of nationalism.' The Commanding Officer of the Tokyo Gendarmerie also called on me and said: 'It is rumored that Your Highness (HIGASHIKUNI) is supporting UGAKI (for the post of Premier). Is there any truth in this?' To this question, I replied: 'I believe that UGAKI is a man of high moral character. However, I have never given him outright support. As a member of the Imperial Family, it is unthinkable for me to take such action!'"

On the 23rd, after the Cabinet meeting, I met the Premier. He stated: "When I made my report on the result of the conference (held between Premier SAITO and Finance Minister TAKAHASHI) to the Cabinet members, and introduced the draft drawn up for the statement to be announced, there wasn't a single person who raised a voice of objection. Therefore, as agreed upon previously, we three elders (SAITO, TAKAHASHI, and YAMAMOTO), decided to render our final service to the country."

In the morning of the 24th, I called on Finance Minister TAKAHASHI at his private residence. He stated: "It was my original intention to resign from my post serving out the month of May. However, when the Premier

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first met the Prince (SAIONJI), he (SAIONJI) was so forceful that the Premier had to return without expressing his own opinion. It was then agreed that the Premier and I were to hold a conference after he had another meeting with the Prince. This conference (between the Premier and TAKAHASHI) materialized on the 22nd after the Premier returned from his visit to the Prince.

"At the time of the closing ceremony of the Diet, SUZUKI (the President of the Seiyukai) requested an interview. At that meeting, I told SUZUKI: 'If there is no change in domestic and foreign affairs, it is my desire to resign soon, due to my poor health.' However, the Chinese and Manchurian incidents broke out, and the World Economic Conference in the United States came up since then.

"As for my health, it has greatly improved. Although I do pass water and discharge gas oftener than before, my general condition has made a marked improvement. Since I felt that it was unjustifiable for an old man like me to hold an important position, I once told SUZUKI: 'Since I'm not in good health, my remaining as Finance Minister is unjustified.' However, the Premier told me: 'Since the national crisis has not dissolved, and new problems are piling up, you must not resign.' It was impossible for me to refuse his persuasion. I told SUZUKI of this when he came over one night. SUZUKI inquired: 'Then do you intend to remain in office until the compilation of the budget estimates is completed or until the budget is approved by the Diet?' I replied: 'Of course, I intend to remain until the budget is approved by the Diet.' Then I continued: 'At present the entire world is facing

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a crisis. Therefore, all the statesmen of Japan must unite as one man and strive for the happiness of humanity. It still is the ambition and hope of the Premier as well as myself to have our Government pursue the normal course of constitutional government. For this purpose, the political parties must regain the confidence of the public. It is necessary for the political parties to prove to the public that their primary consideration is the national welfare and that they are not guided by personal gain. Mr. WAKATSUKI (President of the Minseito) and you (President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai) should become members of the Cabinet and indicate your sincerity by forming a united front.

"It is the shortcoming of the Westerners to have no understanding of the Orient. However, Japan should endeavor to introduce the Orient to the West. Japan must justify the action she took in Manchuria. For the purpose of maintaining peace in the Orient, she must prove that she is well united. These are only my personal opinions.' To this, President SUZUKI said: 'It is impossible for me to give an immediate decision to your proposal (to become a member of the Cabinet and form a strong coalition Cabinet). However, I believe the materialization of this Cabinet will be very difficult.' On his (SUZUKI's) way home, when I saw him to the front door, I (TAKAHASHI) said: 'In regard to your becoming a member of the Cabinet, please give it further consideration.'

"Before the Premier came over, SHIMADA, Toshio (a member of the Seiyukai) called on me at my official residence. He said: 'Judging from the existing situation,

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this Cabinet is not capable of handling the administration. That is the reason that the Seiyukai is opposing this Cabinet. The Cabinet will not be dissolved due to your resignation.' I told him: 'The political parties have not regained the confidence of the people. When the present Cabinet is dissolved, it is extremely doubtful whether a one-party Cabinet will be formed. In view of the existing domestic as well as foreign affairs, the Presidents of the Seiyukai and Minseito should become members of the Cabinet. In this way Japan can win the confidence of foreign countries and at the same time prove to the other countries that Japan and China are different. (At a time of national emergency, Japan can form a strong unified government; whereas this is impossible in China). It is better that political quarrels cease at this time. If the political parties work only for the benefit of their own parties, they will never be able to regain the confidence of the people.' Then SHIMADA said: 'When three political parties existed, we had MIURA, Goro but he is gone now.' The three parties were, Seiyukai, Minseito and Kakushin Domei. At that time, MIURA, Goro was to some extent successful in bringing about harmony among the three parties).

"When I (TAKAHASHI) mentioned this to Premier SAITO, he said: 'At the time of the formation of the Cabinet, I asked the Presidents of both the Seiyukai and the Minseito to become members of the Cabinet, and they refused my request.'

"I (TAKAHASHI) had a conference with SUZUKI twice last year. I believe it was after the second meeting

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that MITSUCHI called on me. I asked him: 'What is on your mind?' To this MITSUCHI replied: 'Today I have come to inquire about your health.' He said: 'If you (TAKAHASHI) resign your post, the Premier will insist that I take over the office of the Finance Minister. However, I will refuse this proposal. This will cause HATOYAMA to resign from his post. As the result of this, the Cabinet will fall.' From what MITSUCHI had to say, I believe there is some misunderstanding between SUZUKI and MITSUCHI. Recently, I can't place any confidence in MITSUCHI. When MITSUCHI came over before the Diet adjourned, he stated: 'I (MITSUCHI) asked YAMAMOTO, Tetsuo, to become Finance Minister when TAKAHASHI resigns.' YAMAMOTO said: 'I think that you (MITSUCHI) are better qualified to take that post.' MITSUCHI also said: 'It is better for me to attend the Washington Conference (Economic Conference).' Recently, the actions of MITSUCHI have become queer."

After conversing with Mr. TAKAHASHI for approximately one hour, I (HARADA) proceeded to the Foreign Ministry. Foreign Minister (UCHIDA) stated: "In regard to Chinese problems, matters concerning the Peiping District are progressing satisfactorily. Fortunately, there has been no objection from the foreign countries.

"Envoy ISHII (Envoy to the Economic Conference) will reach Washington D.C. tomorrow. Necessary preparations to be taken by the Foreign Ministry have been completed.

"It is my intention to have Ambassador MATSUDA give the lecture on foreign affairs in the Imperial Presence in place of SHIBATORI. It has been a custom

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to assemble the foremost authorities in the country in their respective fields to give lectures as often as requested to the Emperor. I believe that this will be decided after I confer with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

"A truce (between China and Japan) may come about within a day or two."

Then I met the Premier and informed him of my intention to call on the Prince. I also examined the contents of the Criminal Law Reader written by Professor TAKIGAWA which was a hot issue.

On the next day, I left for Okitsu.

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Chapter 87
(1 June 1933)

Tangku Truce

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Onata

I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) on the 25th and reported on general matters. The Prince stated: "It is indeed regrettable that the Seiyukai has no outstanding politician. We must place a good man in the party." It seemed the Prince was somewhat relieved to hear that the Cabinet had regained its composure and would carry on.

His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI was scheduled to attend the staff officers' maneuvers (C.P. Exercise) to be held in the Nagoya district from the 27th. Since His Highness would pass through Hamamatsu and Shizuoka on his return, it was his desire to drop in on the Prince at his villa (at Okitsu) located nearby. Fearing that this might cause unnecessary alarm, I informed His Highness: "I will have a talk with KIDO (the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) on this matter."

When I talked to KIDO, he said: "It is perfectly all right. There is nothing improper in a member of the Imperial Family calling on the Genro (Elder Statesman). Even if anyone says anything, he should go." Since it will give unnecessary publicity to schedule this on the official program of His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI, I felt that it would be better if it were handled in such a manner as to make the visit appear as though it were suddenly suggested by His Highness since he was in the vicinity of Shizuoka. When I mentioned this to the Prince (SAIONJI) he said: "It is better not to place this visit on the schedule, but to handle it as you suggested."

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He continued: "It is discourteous to have His Highness drop in at such a humble shack. However, if he drops in as if he were an old friend calling on me, I will welcome him with open arms."

After this conversation with the Prince, I called the home of His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI from Okitsu and set the approximate time of the meeting.

I telephoned the Foreign Ministry and inquired about the progress made on the truce with China. The Foreign Ministry informed me: "It probably will take some time before the truce is signed. However, our troops have generally withdrawn to the scheduled line as ordered."

I also conveyed this to the Prince and returned to Tokyo on the same day (25 May). Two days later (27 May) I called on the Premier and informed him of my visit to the Prince.

At the time of my departure for Okitsu, the question of who was going to inform the Emperor on foreign affairs was being discussed. Upon my return, I discovered that Ambassador MATSUDA had been chosen to succeed SHIRATORI, who until recently had been giving the lectures to the Emperor on foreign affairs once a week. KURIYAMA, councillor of the Foreign Ministry, would succeed Ambassador MATSUDA as Chief of the Treaty Bureau of the Foreign Ministry. Ambassador MATSUDA was chosen to become the lecturer to the Emperor concerning foreign affairs because it seemed that most of the persons close to the Throne were privately hoping for that. Concerning this, KIDO said: "There never was any special request from the Imperial Household Ministry in the selection of the successor. It was left entirely

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to the Foreign Minister."

The Foreign Minister told me: "After conferring with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, I shall select the successor after careful consideration." Since Ambassador MITSUDA was selected, it seemed that the Ministry of the Imperial Household was very much pleased with the appointment.

On the next day (28th), HIRADA, a member of the Seiyukai, came over and said: "The method employed to bring about the meeting of TAKAHASHI and President SUZUKI was very tactless. The Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and the Parliamentary Vice-Minister were indeed undiplomatic. More time should have been devoted to it. If a preliminary conference had been held, I believe that SUZUKI would have been better prepared. However, even if I had tried to help, SUZUKI probably couldn't have done any better."

OKIZAKI once said: "Within the Seiyukai, there are some who demand immediate action (to force the Cabinet to resign en bloc) and others who are more conservative. In view of the bitter experience they had when the Party split up previously, I believe that the Seiyukai will endeavor to prevent this from happening again. It seems that the Seiyukai will follow the policy of waiting for an opportunity to withdraw its Cabinet members in order to force the Cabinet to dissolve." The opinion expressed by OKIZAKI may become an actuality. However, I (HIRADA) don't believe that the members of the Party will be able to agree on whether they should sever relations with the present Cabinet by withdrawing the Cabinet members. Much activity has been going on within the Seiyukai. I have

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heard that NAKAJIMA, Chikuhei, advised President SUZUKI as follows: "It is very disadvantageous to the country as well as to the Seiyukai to create difficult problems at this time. Therefore, you should go to Yugawara for recuperation for a short period of time." Since the suggestion was made by no other than NAKAJIMA, Chikuhei, who manages the political fund of the Seiyukai, especially that of President SUZUKI, SUZUKI was unable to protest and decided to sit tight and wait for further developments.

Looking at it from another angle, it seems that a comparatively strong movement is going on within the Seiyukai to oust President SUZUKI and to replace him with TOKONAMI. However, unity of the Cabinet has become stronger as opposition from the Seiyukai has increased.

Although the meeting of the President (of the United States) and Envoy ISHII was a mere formality, it seems at least on the surface that relations between the United States and Japan have improved. At the same time, a truce with China in regard to the Peiping District was reached on the 31st. Assistant Chief of Staff OKAMURA and Lieut. General HSIUNG PIN, representative of the Central Chinese Army, signed the truce on May 30th, at 11:00 A.M. Negotiations for the truce were started on May 25th when the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, KITO, received the official truce proposal from Staff Officer HSU YEH-MU, the representative of HO YING-CHIN at Miyun. Since the negotiation that had been carried on between HUANG FU and Lt. Colonel SUZUKI was said to have finally made this truce possible, Lt. Colonel SUZUKI was overjoyed with the result.

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Chapter 88
(7 June 1933)

Konoye Succeeds Tokugawa

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Onata

On the 2nd, when His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI neared Shizuoka on his way back to Tokyo, he made a suggestion that he drop in on the Prince (SAIONJI). Accompanied by the Governor and the Chief of the Prefectural Police of Shizuoka Prefecture, he arrived at the home of the Prince (SAIONJI) at 3:30. His Highness conversed with the Prince for approximately one hour. It was his opinion that: "The celebrated sword (Meito) should not be drawn from the scabbard in vain. It is a mistake for Japan to start an aggressive war against Soviet Russia or the United States of America." His Highness regretted the fact that statesmen lacked ability to understand international problems. However, it seemed that he (HIGASHIKUNI) was very pleased to discover that his opinion coincided with that of the Prince (SAIONJI).

On his way home, I (HARADA) accompanied His Highness from Numazu, where I joined his party. He expressed warm admiration for the Prince and said: "As might be expected for a Genro, Prince SAIONJI is a great man. He thinks of Japan as one of the world powers, whereas, statesmen of mediocre caliber consider Japan as the leading country of the Orient and not of the world. As for common politicians, their outlook is so narrow that all they can think of is Japan alone.

After returning to Tokyo, two or three days passed quietly. It seemed that the visit made to Okitsu by His Highness Prince HIGASHIKUNI did not create any

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disturbance. However, there were a few reporters who said:

"The War Minister encouraged the Premier to take more positive action." Or "did His Highness visit Prince SAIONJI to force the Cabinet to take more drastic action?" However, in general, I thought that the visit made by His Highness had quite good effect.

To meet HUANG-Fu, Lt. Col. SUZUKI again left for China on the evening of the 7th.

In regard to the question of TOKUGAWA, President of the House of Peers, the opinion that the sooner he resigns his post the better has gained ground. Although it is not known to the public, strong threats to assassinate TOKUGAWA have been received. It seems that the Chief of the Metropolitan Police and the Minister of Home Affairs are having considerable difficulty in suppressing them. The fact that this news was generally known to the leading newspapers on or about June 6 was verified when reporters who frequent the Ministry of Home Affairs visited KIDO and related the content of the story to him. Consequently, the TOKUGAWA family summoned the family advisers, and it seems that they decided to have Prince TOKUGAWA resign as soon as possible from the office of the President of the House of Peers. In connection with this incident, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police had given well-meant advice on several occasions to the steward of the house of TOKUGAWA. He seems that he also cautioned IEMASA (President TOKUGAWA's son) as a friend about the scandal in which IEMASA was involved. However, the matter did not make

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any headway. The Premier was greatly concerned with developments and called in the Chief of the Metropolitan Police and gave him the following instructions: "With the authority you command as Chief of the Metropolitan Police, issue a strict order to the steward (of the TOKUGAWA family) to keep Iomasa in hand." The Premier himself also called in the steward and demanded reconsideration. These actions (by the Premier and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police), I believe, caused the matter to be hastened.

The problem which arises in regard to this (resignation of TOKUGAWA) is the selection of the successor. At present, it seems that Prince KONOYE has come to feel that he should succeed TOKUGAWA when he resigns. Prince KONOYE himself as well as others who are well acquainted with the present situation believe that KONOYE is the most logical successor.

There are evidences that a movement has been started to prevent Prince KONOYE from becoming President of the House of Peers by those who will be placed in a disadvantageous position by the appointment of the Prince to the new post. Therefore, I (HARADA) called on the Premier as well as the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and cautioned them about this movement. The Premier and the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet shared my feeling and stated:

"We will select the successor to the Presidency of the House of Peers as soon as possible and prevent outside interference."

When I spoke to Prince KONOYE about this, he felt

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the same way about it.

On the 7th, Prince TOKUGAWA suddenly submitted his resignation. In the morning of the 8th he called on KONOYE and told him:

"Since I have submitted my resignation, please take care of the necessary procedures."

I understand that he also called on the Premier.

I left for Okitsu on the 7th. When I returned the next day (8th), the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet called me and said:

"The resignation of the President of the House of Peers, TOKUGAWA, is now in the hands of the Chief Secretary of the House of Peers. This will be submitted to the Ministry of the Imperial Household. When it is handed down to the Cabinet, the Premier intends to call in Prince KONOYE. The Vice-President of the House of Peers will be appointed after consulting Prince KONOYE. Everything will be done quickly." Since I felt that it was better to handle this problem in the above-mentioned manner, I said: "That is an excellent idea." When I called on the Premier at approximately 1:00 PM the same day, he stated:

"I am going to call Prince KONOYE at 1:30 and will settle the matter."

There are many reasons which prompted Prince TOKUGAWA to resign so soon. However, it is said that the resignation was hastened by the effort of Admiral IDE, who, as a former retainer of the TOKUGAWAs, called on the Premier and expressed his grave concern on this subject.

At any rate, it has been decided to appoint the

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successors officially to the offices of President and Vice-President of the House of Peers at the Cabinet meeting to be held on the 9th. It is said that Count MATSUDAIRA, Yorihisa (or Ralju) will be appointed as Vice-President in accordance with KONOYE's request.

It seems that there are controversies between the conservatives and the so-called die-hards (the group that favor the immediate dissolution of the Cabinet) within the Seiyukai. However, it seems that the conservatives command the majority. I heard from INUKAI that President SUZUKI is perplexed over the decision that has to be made.

(continued in the next chapter)

Issues in China

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Omata

When I met the Foreign Minister (UCHIDA) on the 6th of May, he stated: "The President of the United States sent letters explaining the purpose of the so-called Economic Conference to the head of each nation. Our reply to this letter was as follows: 'Just as it is done in England, the Emperor of Japan will have the Japanese government review it.'

"Therefore, the Government must deliberate on it and adopt a definite policy. It has been decided by our government to give the following reply: 'We are in accord with the purpose of the Conference and the desire of the President. We can in general agree to the stipulations in the four articles. However, a definite answer will be given as necessity arises.'"

The Foreign Minister continued: "There are some who say that we should dispatch Minister ARIYOSHI to Peiping. However, until the problems in regard to military operations are settled, it is more convenient for him to remain in Shanghai to carry on negotiations with Nanking (Central Government). He is at present in Shanghai and is in the midst of negotiations."

In regard to the Seiyukai, the group supporting President SUZUKI has come to realize the adverse position in which they will be placed if they persist in dissolving the present Cabinet. If they force the issue and withdraw HITOYAMA and MITSUCHI from the Cabinet the so-called conservatives (faction supporting TOKONAMI

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and MOCHIZUKI) will seize this golden opportunity, fill the vacated posts with TOKONAMI and MOCHIZUKI, and give their full support to the Cabinet. By indicating that they would support the Cabinet at the time of national emergency, the TOKONAMI and MOCHIZUKI factions could win the support of the party conservatives who command a majority. It seems that the SUZUKI faction is fearful that when this occurs, they will be left completely out of the political picture. Concerning this matter, INUKAI secretly called on me and stated: "Although this is a very confidential matter, I am holding conferences with HATOIYAMA. At present, SUZUKI harbors ill feelings toward the Cabinet. However, I believe that the only solution to this problem is for SUZUKI to remain quiet until the commotion dies down, and then give support to the Cabinet by becoming a Minister of State without portfolio. It would be very convenient if we could create one or two more ministerial posts within the Cabinet."

INUKAI continued: "It is possible that at a convenient moment the Premier might ask SUZUKI to become a member of the Cabinet. In this event, I would like to have your assistance."

President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai was to return to Tokyo (from Yugawara) on or about the 10th of June, hold a conference with the three Elders of the Party (MOCHIZUKI; YAMAMOTO, Teijiro; and YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo), and decide upon the future policy of the Seiyukai.

The policy adopted was that of a compromise between the immediate action group and the conservatives, and it was a very ambiguous one. However, under present circum-

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stances, the policy adopted by President SUZUKI was probably unavoidable.

The following is a translation of the statement which appeared in the newspapers concerning the new policy adopted by the Seiyukai.

Resolution

The gravity of the national emergency has become greater, and counter-measures to cope with problems of diplomacy, national defense, national economy, and the trend of national sentiment are difficult to find. Should the existing situation continue, public anxiety will never be erased. Especially in regard to the Manchurian problem, the entire nation must exert its effort to bring about a settlement. We should break away from conventionalism and carry out a sweeping change in our national policy. It is time that we effect by force, a break in the stalemated situation and lead our country out of this crisis. In view of the results achieved by the SHICO Cabinet in the past year, we recognize the fact that the present Cabinet is incapable of assuming and executing the responsibilities placed upon it. Hereafter, the basic policy of our Party will be the national interest, and from an independent position, we will keep close watch over the present Cabinet. When the Cabinet strives to better the national welfare, it will be given full support. However, if the policy pursued by the Government is detrimental to the nation, we will strongly denounce the injustice. Thus, while maintaining strict neutrality, we will move forward boldly. It is an earnest request that the members fully understand this principle and act together.

On the 12th I (MURADA) met the Premier in regard to the President of the Privy Council. I said: "The question in regard to the health of the President of the Privy Council (KURATOMI, Yusaburo) has been brought up. He has grown old and infirm. His eye-sight is failing him due to the cataract. Consequently, I think an opportunity will arrive to see a change of Presidents, but—"

The Premier stated: "This is my personal opinion. If it is possible, I would like to have the Minister of the Imperial Household, ICHIKI, as successor. However,

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I believe that this recommendation must come from the Prince SAIONJI." To this, I merely stated: "I am positive that the Prince feels the same way. Of course, I'm only surmising."

Since KOIZUMI, Sanshin was scheduled to call on Prince SAIONJI on the 14th, KOIZUMI went over to see HITOYAMA on the 12th. He said: "I am making a call on Prince SAIONJI to discuss politics. Since various political subjects will be brought up, I would like to talk to you."

After HITOYAMA and KOIZUMI had a discussion, INUKAI hurried over to me (HARADA). He said: "Since it is possible that KOIZUMI may take advantage of the meeting he had with HITOYAMA and say something, I want you to understand that HITOYAMA said nothing to KOIZUMI at that meeting."

On the 12th, the Governor-General of Korea, UGAKI, held a conference with the Minister of War (ARAKI). The newspapers reported the progress of the conference and ostentatiously stated that they parted after a quarrel.

I (HARADA) invited officials of the diplomatic corps, and the Army and Navy to a tea party at the SUMITOMO detached house on the 13th. I took this opportunity to ask the Minister of War: "Was the report of yesterday's meeting true?" He said: "The false report which appeared in the newspapers is causing both of us great embarrassment."

On the 14th I (HARADA) met the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. At this meeting, he stated: "The preliminary negotiations on Chinese Eastern Railway Problem are making progress. The Russian Ambassador

Issues in China

(URENEV) has called at the Foreign Ministry in regard to the Pogranitchnaia (located on the border of Manchuria and Siberia) issue. However, at present there is nothing we can do to solve it. The conference on the Chinese Eastern Railway problem will probably begin on the 15th.

"Instructions have been issued to Minister ARIYOSHI to caution the Chinese Government in regard to tariff and Anti-Japanese activities.

"There also is a rumor that the next Ambassador to the United States will be MITSUKATA, Kojiro. I believe that this propaganda was spread by the Satsuma faction.

"The appointment of TANI, Chief of the Bureau of Asiatic Affairs, as Minister to China is still undecided. Before I change TANI's assignment, I intend to ask for his opinion and then to move accordingly."

I (ILRAD) proceeded to Okitsu on the 15th, and made reports to the Prince on the above-mentioned subjects. During the course of the conversation, the Prince spoke of the resolutions adopted by owners of the cotton-spinning industries of Osaka concerning the boycott of cotton goods by India. He said: "I can still remember when in the old days the relationship between Great Britain and Germany was similar to this."

The Prince also mentioned the fact that Prince TOKUGAWA called on him a few days after his resignation.

The Prince spoke of the visit made by KONOYE on the 12th and stated: "According to KONOYE's story businessmen of Osaka are comparatively uninterested in Manchuria and Mongolia. The military faction highly regrets the fact that they (Osaka businessmen) do not voluntarily invest their capital in Manchuria."

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There was nothing important to discuss except that I mentioned the intention of the Premier to recommend Baron ICHIKI as President of the Privy Council. The Prince was of a similar opinion. He said: "Please extend my best to the Premier." I left for Tokyo on the same day. (15th June).

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Chapter 90
(14 July 1933)

Yoshizawa Joins Seiyukai

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 20th, I met the Premier (SAITO, Minoru) and the Foreign Minister (UCHIDA, Koya). On the 21st, I went to Okitsu (to see Prince SAIONJI) again. There wasn't much of importance to talk about, but I returned after discussing the problem of purchasing the Chinese Eastern Railway and various other topics.

On the 23rd, I met OKAZAKI, Kunisuke, of the Seiyukai. As we talked about various matters, he said: "It seems that YOSHIZAWA, Kenkichi, former Foreign Minister, joined the Seiyukai on the recommendation of HATOYAMA and SUZUKI as foreign policy adviser to SUZUKI, President of the Seiyukai. He probably joined because he thought that ultimately he might be made President."

Then OKAZAKI said: "KUHARA sent Baron NAKAGAWA, Yoshinaga, to Manchuria in order to better his relations with the Army, and gave him a letter of introduction. Before he left, KUHARA invited important officials of the Army to a very elaborate farewell party (for NAKAGAWA). KUHARA sent NAKAGAWA to Manchuria for the purpose of having him form intimate relationships with important Kwantung Army officials by giving lectures on the "Spirit of the Emperor's Principles" (Kodo) and performing as much service for the Army as possible. Indirectly thereby, KUHARA is seeking to remedy his unpopularity with the Army."

Then he (OKAZAKI) said: "SUGIYAMA, Shigemaru, is saying: 'I reported my opinion on political affairs, especially on the increase of taxation, through NAKAGAWA,

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Kojuro, to Prince SAIONJI, and sought his understanding. Prince SAIONJI gave me his approval." He even said: "IZAWA, Takio, is very well acquainted with OGURA, Masatsune, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sumitomo, and was able to obtain money (from Sumitomo)."

I (HARADA), therefore, explained explicitly to OKAZAKI: "Sumitomo would never lend money to politicians."

On the 25th, I left for Osaka; on the way I stopped at Okitsu. Enroute, from Tokyo to Shizuoka, I was joined by HATOYAMA, Education Minister. I related the story about YOSHIZAWA that I had heard from OKAZAKI and asked him: "Now why did YOSHIZAWA join the Seiyukai?" He answered: "It seems that he became rather lonely, and joined suddenly. I was unexpectedly asked to be his introducer (to Seiyukai); I was obliged to recommend him. Generally speaking, YOSHIZAWA is a very good man. In fact, when YOSHIZAWA went to China some time ago, the true particulars were that UCHIDA, Foreign Minister, asked him to go saying: 'Will you please make a tour of China?' Just as he was about to leave for China, Foreign Minister UCHIDA's attitude on this matter became vague for the purpose of stopping YOSHIZAWA's trip. This probably happened because TANI, Asia Bureau Chief, told the Foreign Minister that YOSHIZAWA's going to China at this time 'is not favorable from the diplomatic standpoint, so please stop him.' This angered YOSHIZAWA, and in the end, he departed for China on his own initiative."

Then HATOYAMA, Education Minister, sighed, saying: "Political parties of today are impossibly corrupt. They must either seriously reconsider themselves and repent, or they will collapse."

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Then I went to Okitsu, reported to Prince SAIONJI everything about meeting OKAZAKI, and repeated HATOYAMA's story. Prince SAIONJI declared: "There is absolutely no basis to the story that SUGIYAMA, Shigemaru, consulted me and obtained my consent. I know nothing about it." Not much else was talked about. I headed for Osaka on the evening train.

I spent about a week in Osaka and Kyoto finishing up business matters, going to parties, etc. On the morning of the 1st, I left Kyoto and again arrived in Okitsu in the afternoon. I called the Foreign Ministry, asked for news and was told: "There is no particular news. The problem of the Chinese Eastern Railway is solved. The Economic Conference is just as reported in the press."

I dropped in at Prince SAIONJI's place for a courtesy call. I returned to Tokyo on the evening express-train Tsubame. After my return, I became ill on the 3rd. and was in bed until after the tenth. KIDO called on the phone early in the morning of the 11th saying: "Something like a second May 15th Incident was about to occur last night, so the Metropolitan Police Board entered the Meiji Jingu Building and apprehended the ringleaders. About sixty more arrived from the prefectures; ringleaders among them were also arrested at the same time. At present, they are being investigated. It seems that someone has supplied a great deal of money (for this plot)."

He further said: "We are guarding people like MAKINO, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, very securely."

I immediately called Okitsu by phone and inquired about precautionary measures taken there. On that very

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day, Prince SAIONJI was going from Okitsu to Gotemba. I could not go due to illness. I inquired about the situation by phone and was told: "Sufficient precautions have been taken; there is nothing to worry about."

Finally on the 13th, I went to see KOYAMA, Matsukichi, Minister of Justice, expecting to get a general idea of the situation. However, the Minister himself did not have the details of the case, so I left him after he said: "At any rate, I will tell you after I receive a report on the matter."

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Chapter 91
(21 July 1933)

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Translated by Miss Miwako Yamamoto

Some time later, I (HARADA) met the Minister of Justice and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board. I heard more about the situation. The outcome was that SUZUKI, Zenichi, was in the same position that NISHIDA, Zei, had been. He also had very deep connections with INOUYE, Nissho, in the previous May 15th Incident. He is connected with various activities. He had promised to come forward at the time of the May 15th Incident. He did not and became a target of such censure from those around him. The general story is that in the end he could not avoid starting this incident. Quite a bit of money has been put out in this incident. For instance, over sixty people gathered in Tokyo from other regions. Furthermore, four or five ringleaders escaped and have not been captured. Between 120 and 130 swords were found. Also as weapons, there were about twenty revolvers. The ringleaders were members of the Seisanto and the Aikoku Kinro-to, the Seisan-to being of course, the Black Dragon Society. To date, 150 to 160 men already have been apprehended. Their plans were to start a riot and at the same time to call upon the Army and Navy to lay down martial law. And then to make a world of their choosing. It seems that they especially chose the 11th, the day of the Emperor's visit to the Military Academy, for action. They were relying on the fact that there would be a shortage of policemen due to protective measures for the Emperor's visit. But the Metropolitan Police Board had already started to make

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necessary arrests as a precaution for the Emperor's visit. Those who were taken at that time by chance at the Meiji Jingu Hall were a part of their group.

As far as the source of the money is concerned, it is said that it is either KUHARA, ADACHI, or UGAKI. The Chief of the Special Higher Police of the Kempei-tai has actually reported to the Public Procurator's Office that the money is coming from UGAKI. This is a secret. UGAKI is said to be giving the money to a man named FUJITA, Isamu, and that money is getting around to others. I think that this is only propaganda to discredit UGAKI, but the Chief of the Military Police is OGURA's man and FUJITA is OGURA's man also. Since OGASAWARA at one time in the past tried to use UGAKI as a front, it can be surmised that OGASAWARA and FUJITA, or OGASAWARA, was deceived, and had discredited UGAKI. In any event, this problem will probably take a long time. The Minister of Justice was saying that he would not hurry the matter, but would take care of it in due time.

On the 14th, I (HARADA) had a phone call from the Premier who said: "I would like to see you this morning, so please come." I went to the Premier's place. He told me: "I talked with HATOYAMA about various matters. I said it will be very unsatisfactory unless the political parties become a little more earnest. We have no other intention in our service but to return to a state of constitutional government. However, the present situation is very unsatisfactory. How would it be if the President (of Seiyukai) joined the Cabinet as a Minister of State. But before this -- before he actually joins the Cabinet, he would first like to go to

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Prince SAIONJI's place to express his decision. It would be embarrassing if he asked Prince SAIONJI for an interview and were refused. He would like very much to have the Prime Minister ask Prince SAIONJI to see him. At the same time, when he sees him, I would like to have him encouraged." The Prime Minister said to me: "Please relay this matter to SAIONJI." Therefore, I phoned Gotemba that morning and told him this in general. Prince SAIONJI's reply was: "I consent."

Further, as I had not fully recovered, I was to go to Okitsu in three or four days. INUKAI came on the 16th and said: "This is a message from HATOYAMA. The President is at last feeling more and more like joining the Cabinet. However, he is still hesitant on one or two steps before making up his mind. I think that if he went to Prince SAIONJI's place and talked this over with him, he would reach the right decision. He would like very much to see Prince SAIONJI. I want you to ask Prince SAIONJI to meet him. At the same time, I would like to have Prince SAIONJI urge him to this decision."

Early in the morning of the 17th, I met the Prime Minister and said: "The fact of the matter is, INUKAI brought a message from HATOYAMA last night saying that Chairman SUZUKI has not yet made up his mind. He has decided in general, but is still a little hesitant. The story is that he would like to go to Prince SAIONJI's place first, and be encouraged to the decision. Now the Prime Minister's story was that he wanted to express his decision. According to the other side, however, it looks as if he is not quite decided and that he is going

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more or less for consultation. I will, of course, give both reports to Prince SAIONJI. I am first telling you, the Prime Minister, about this in case any misunderstanding arises in the meantime.

"Naturally, there are many ways of looking at SUZUKI's entry into the Cabinet. First of all, I think that there will be those who will attack the Government, saying: 'The position of the President of an existing political party for which the public has little use has become extremely trying. He has no other road to take but to join the Cabinet as a Minister of State without portfolio. The political parties have no spirit. Even if the Chairman of an existing political party which has been forsaken by the public says he will join, it isn't much of a Cabinet that would welcome him. Furthermore, this Cabinet, especially, is a Cabinet which was organized for the purpose of purifying the political parties. This would mean that a purification is the last thing they have in mind.' However, if this story were told to Prince SAIONJI, I think that he would say: 'No matter what the public says, if the Government can continue longer and the policies of the Government can be executed more expeditiously, I think it would be well for President SUZUKI to join when he can.' Of course, I am not sure. Tomorrow I have promised to go with KIDO, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. At any rate, I will leave early tomorrow morning and report this to Prince SAIONJI. I will report to you his wishes upon my return." Thus saying, I departed for Gotemba on the morning of the 18th, together with KIDO, Koichi. From 9:30 on, I talked for about an hour and a half about

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various matters. When I made this report to Prince SAIONJI, he said: "Please reply that SAIONJI has agreed to the Prime Minister's message. This is not to be said to the Prime Minister, but the timing of this problem is not good. It is all right if I am going to hear SUZUKI's report; but if he still has not made up his mind and is coming more or less for consultation, I well understand the feeling that he is trying to use me. I am neither trying to avoid nor to escape being used, but I am very much worried whether it would be best for the Government and for the political party itself. There is little that I can say if I meet President SUZUKI and am consulted about such a problem. Since it is a request from the Prime Minister, I cannot very well refuse, I would like to have you express fully my anxieties on this point to him."

According to what I (HARADA) heard from KIDO, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was also extremely worried that he might be used. It is very bad to speculate about this point from the beginning. However he (SUZUKI) may first join as a Minister of State without portfolio, and later on reach some understanding with those like ARAKI, War Minister. After the overthrow of the SAITO Cabinet, they might contemplate the formation of a Seiyukai Cabinet and suppress the puppets of other forces or their coming into power. It can, therefore, be taken that this plan was thought up to hasten this negotiation and at the same time to straighten out the Seiyukai.

To put it in a different way, the present leaders of the Army dislike very much to contemplate a change of Cabinet. One reason is that UGAKI might rise in one of

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these changes. The Seiyukai also does not want UGAKI to rise. Therefore, for their common passive goal, there is a tendency for the present leaders of the Army and a group in the Seiyukai to get together.

In any event, this is a problem which has not yet come to a head, and I made the above report to Prince SAIONJI. Upon my return, I met the Prime Minister and said: "Prince SAIONJI said: 'I have agreed to your message.' But Prince SAIONJI also said to me: 'I do not mind being used in such circumstances, but I do not think it best for the Government or for the party itself to say they have used me.' It seemed as if Prince SAIONJI felt anxiety on these points. I am only saying this as my surmise. If SUZUKI were going to make a report after he had really made his decision, I am sure that Prince SAIONJI would be pleased to see him and encourage him. However, Prince SAIONJI seems to be worried about its effect on the general political situation, present and future if he goes partly for consultation, makes his decision there, returns, and makes comments. Of course, since it is a request from the Prime Minister, he says: 'I will meet him,' and 'I will also encourage him.' However, I think that the situation is as I have just surmised." Then the Prime Minister replied: "I will first talk this over further with HATO-YAMA and think of something." I parted with the Prime Minister.

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Chapter 92
(3 August 1933)

Naval Budget and Foreign Policy

Translated by Miss Miwa Yanamoto

I (HARADA) relayed to HATOYAMA through INUKAI that: "Prince SAIONJI has just come to Gotemba from Okitsu, and is very tired from the heat. He cannot meet President SUZUKI for a little while, and asks that it not be taken amiss."

Some time later, I met the Prime Minister. He said: "I thought over what Prince SAIONJI said the other day, and he is absolutely right. I called HATOYAMA and asked him various questions. HATOYAMA still says it is a canard, but it is hard to tell. HATOYAMA now says: 'I am thinking of meeting with HARADA myself.' If he says: 'Please see me,' please consent."

The Prime Minister further stated: "Judging by the statements of Chairman SUZUKI which are appearing in the press, there is a lack of sincerity. I, therefore, think that the materialization (of his entry into the Cabinet) is quite difficult. Since I have already urged him twice, I do not think that this is a matter which we should encourage further unless the other party comes to talk to us in earnest. I am thinking of leaving it alone for a while."

Later, on July 29, I met the Prime Minister. He related the following situation to me: "The China problem will be troublesome from now on. I think that the problem of relations with the big powers will be especially annoying. There are those who want to aid HUANG FU in particular, but it is unsatisfactory for Japan to act

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through a single person. My intention is positively not to give aid. On the other hand, SUNG TZU-WEN (T. V. SOONG) is trying to maintain a close relationship with the European powers in the hope of solving the problems of his country to good advantage. I wonder if Europe will interfere in the China problem. I think it will be quite troublesome. And another thing, since Field Marshal MUTO passed away suddenly, General HISHIKARI was appointed successor. I had a report about this from the War Minister. He was chosen by seniority since various complications would arise if the promotion were made by selection. They say that he is a particularly sensible general, and he should be excellent. Governor-General UGAKI gave some money to SUNADA at Shimonoseki. It is said that SUNADA took this money to SUZUKI, Chairman of the Seiyukai. However, how much of this is true, I cannot ascertain immediately." He also said: "Prince TOKUGAWA's trip abroad is inevitable."

I went to the Foreign Ministry to meet TANI, Chief of the Asia Bureau. He said: "The relations with the Army are improving a great deal. We are completely in accord on problems involving Russia. In fact, there is an inclination to settle the problem of the Chinese Eastern Railway, make a boundary agreement between Japan and Russia and Japan and China, and even going further, enter a non-aggression treaty. It seems advantageous for Japan, from the standpoint of foreign policy, to leave Russia as Red Russia. If it changes to White Russia, the sympathies of the European powers would all be transferred to Russia. It is advisable, in view

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of Japan's position, for Russia to be hated to a certain degree. As a course for our foreign policy, we should not quarrel with Russia. Further, we should take up the principle of amity with the United States. It is necessary for us to stand with England and the United States and to be used by them and to use them even more. Japan would lose face if Manchukuo were not allowed to develop as a recognized independent nation. If there is a feeling to annex Manchukuo as we did Korea, it will mean not only the destruction of Manchukuo, but also the downfall of Japan. It will, of course, destroy the confidence of the East in Japan and also the confidence of the world. If Japan has control of military power and power to control foreign policy, I think it would be well to allow Korea to become independent also. It is Japan's mission and obligation to obey the Imperial Edict of some time ago to make Manchukuo a recognized independent nation, to develop the industry of Manchukuo and make it a world market, to promote commerce, and likewise, to contribute to the development of the people's welfare." TANI was soon to be transferred as Councillor to Manchukuo. KUWASHIMA, Consul-General of Tientsin was to take his place.

Later Lt. Col. SUZUKI came. Lt. Col. SUZUKI has been transferred as Press Corps Chief. Lt. Col. SUZUKI had the very same opinion as TANI regarding relations with Manchuria and foreign policy. At that time, the huge budget of the Navy had been proposed. This resulted from the problem of relations with the United States. Relations with the United States are affected reciprocally

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by relations with Russia. That is to say, up to now the Army has maintained that Russia must be attacked to the end. If there is a single misstep when we attack Russia, relations with the United States will become extremely delicate. The United States might become actively involved. Therefore, the fortifications of the Pacific are very important. The Army said to the Navy, "Our intention is to attack Russia to the end. We ask the Navy to take thorough care of America." The Navy had agreed to this. Their hopes of preparing not to be outdone by the United States have appeared in this budget. In view of the anticipated revision of the London Treaty in 1936, they proposed a huge budget for the purpose of having as many ships as possible completed by that time. On the other hand, within the General Staff Headquarters -- rather within the Army as a whole -- there are two factions: one whose members have been saying for some time that we must attack Russia, and another which says that it would be better to be friendly with Russia and not to incite anything. In the General Staff Headquarters, the leader of the first group is Maj. Gen. KOHATA; the latter is headed by Maj. Gen. NAGATA. NAGATA's contention in general has been gaining ground. Today the general trend inclines that way.

That the huge budget of the Navy came up by chance at this time irritated the Army very much, for improvement of relations with Russia is prompted by the desire to become friendly with America. If we enter upon amicable relations with America, there is no particular need to hurry preparations for war with America. As a result, the budget need not be so large. It looks as if

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the general aim of the Army is not to allow the budget of the Navy to become so huge. I cannot understand that part at all.

Lt. Col. SUZUKI asked: "How about appointing MATSUKATA, Kojiro, as Ambassador to America? The manner in which the Foreign Ministry is running things at present is hopeless. After all, it is necessary to send to America someone who will do things the American way. Someone like MATSUKATA who is a go-getter is indeed a suitable choice."

So I (HARADA) replied: "In an industrial nation like America, and, in fact, the essence of industry is -- although it is so in anything -- confidence. In that case, with what dignity can Japan dispatch to America a person like MATSUKATA, Kojiro, whose loss of the confidence of the industrial world is so conspicuous. I think it a very strange suggestion." Then he said: "If that is the case, would not NITOBE do just as well? Or Count KABAYAMA would be all right. Anyone like the present Ambassador is impossible." He kept talking about moves friendly to the United States and friendship with the United States. At any rate, that such an atmosphere has come into existence is a very interesting phenomenon.

There was a Lt. Gen. who reported to YANAGAWA, Vice-Minister, that: "Recently there has been talk of a Minister of State without portfolio. If President SUZUKI (Seiyukai) and Chairman WAKATSUKI (Minseito) join (the Cabinet), it means that the Prime Minister will resign about the middle of August. General UGAKI will organize a Cabinet with himself as Prime Minister, and it will continue as a Coalition Cabinet. The entrance of the chairmen of both parties into the Cabinet

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is for the purpose of preparing to receive UGAKI. This is the actual state of affairs." SUZUKI worried about this and came to my place to tell me about it. I (HARADA) said: "I do not think it likely that the present Cabinet will resign. That is a rumour." He left, reassured.

Further, there are those who say that a Cabinet will be organized with Prince KONOYE at its head. In any event, slander against UGAKI is intense. I am told all sorts of things from all sides. However, I do not think that there will be much happening in August.